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ABSTRACT

The major objective of this work is to test the heuristic value of the combination of certain aspects of cognitive theory and aspects stressing the social nature of ethnic groups and their boundary maintenance functions. The first section of the paper is a discussion of the cognitive theoretical approaches to anthropology of Goffman, Barth, Le Vine, and Goodenough that are combined and applied in this research. An extensive analysis of a case study follows that provides data on ethnic stereotyping and the cognitive dimensions of behavior. Questionnaires with open-ended responses were given to 121 children in grades 6 and 7 and secondary school in an ethnically heterogeneous area--Youri Division, Northwestern State, Nigeria. Their responses showed that ethnic groups are stereotypically ranked, reflecting well-understood rules for socioeconomic positions and rights, duties, and privileges of each ethnic group. The study concluded that members of an ethnic group see themselves as people who have access to a number of culturally defined social identities, the possession of which entitles them to certain rights and duties in interaction with members of other groups. The last section investigates the usefulness of the combination of cognitive and behavioral approaches and suggests some implications for further theoretical development and research. Data obtained from the study are included as tables in the paper. (Author/ND)

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BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNIC CATEGORIES AMONG NORTHERN NIGERIAN SCHOOLCHILDREN

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Statement of Theory

Purpose of Paper

One of the more exciting problems to engage the attention of anthropologists recently has been that of ethnic persistence and change. A number of scholars have worked on various aspects of the problem, each advancing our understanding of the problem in important but often isolated ways. The pioneering work of Barth (1969) and his disciples has advanced our understanding primarily regarding the social mechanisms used to establish boundaries between ethnic groups and the manner in which these boundaries are crossed. From time to time Barth (1969) provides hints of the benefits that might accrue from adding a cognitive, cultural, dimension to his behavioral analysis, especially is this evident when he uses some of Goffman's (1963) ideas.

On the other hand, some cognitive work proceeds as if there were no behavioral, or social, components of human life. While many ideas proceeding from cognitive writings are indeed stimulating, they often seem to remain at that level, stimulating but non-productive. However, ideas applicable to an analysis of group behavior should proceed logically from a theoretical approach committed to understanding the construction of categories that define reality to members of groups. Certainly if a number of groups interact in a given social field their interaction must be predicated on there being at least some areas of shared perception.

Unfortunately, much of the important work in the field of cognitive anthropology has proceeded in relative isolation from that in the field of ethnic studies. However, theorists in both areas are interested in a number of complementary if not always similar problems. Among these are those of perception, identity, and predictability. Furthermore, while each category of scholars has worked apart from the other, the members of each belong to

that larger category, anthropology, and it is not surprising that the work of each group can be combined rather easily with that of the other in a more meaningful whole.

The major objective of this work is to test the heuristic value of the combination of certain aspects of cognitive theory, mainly those Goodenough (1969) emphasizes, with aspects stressing the social nature of ethnic groups and their boundary maintenance functions. The first sections of the work will present a discussion of the theoretical approaches of Goffman, Barth, LeVine and Goodenough. These will be followed by an extensive analysis of a case study, that of schoolchildren in an ethnically heterogeneous area, Yauri Division, North-Western State, Nigeria. Finally, the last section investigates the usefulness of the combination of cognitive and behavioral approaches and suggests some implications for further theoretical development and research.

Boundaries and Social Situations

There is little argument among those who have recently studied ethnic groups that ethnic groups form categories for action, that their members are recruited mainly through ascription, that members can and do cross boundary-maintenance lines, and that they persist through time socially even as they change culturally. The major anthropological "school" identified with recent studies of ethnicity has been that of Frederick Barth, though, of course, such studies go back in scientific form to Max Weber. These recent students of ethnicity freely acknowledge their debt to Goffman (1963). Especially useful are his concepts of the "front-stage - backstage" areas of life and that of the "social situation".

The concept of there being a front stage, or public presentation of self, and a backstage area is of special importance to ethnic theory, for it

enables the researcher to deal with otherwise incompatible behavior by group members. Cronin (1972) makes an interesting use of the concept in her study of Sicilian immigrants in Australia, when she talks of public and private areas of life. Thus, most changes in her sample originate in actions between Sicilians and other groups in the public area. Very few changes originate in the private or backstage area. Even when social changes come about in the backstage area, very few immediate cognitive changes follow. Over time, of course, there are such changes, but these seem to be fewer than one might normally expect. In other words, ethnic identity has persisted even when many changes in behavior have had to be made by group members. As I have argued elsewhere (1974), behavioral changes usually preceed cultural ones in multiethnic interaction.

The concept of "backstage" is, of course, part of Goffman's wider theory of impression management, or self-presentation. While his concept of "social situation" is at least as much a part of the higher-order concept of impression management as is that of the "backstage", its use has not been anywhere so nearly extensive. Certainly some use has been of it. Barth's (1969) statement of the permeable nature of ethnic boundaries seems to me to be a prime example of its use in recent ethnic theory. But the fact that some members of ethnic group A through certain modifications in their behavioral presentations can "pass" from that group to ethnic group B, is only one use that can be made of the concept. Below I will suggest some further uses of Goffman's insight. Here suffice it to say simply that every interaction between members of two different ethnic groups can be viewed as a "social situation".[1]

Since the concept holds a great deal of promise for aiding in the understanding of ethnic groups, a brief discussion is in order.

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[1] Of course, every intragroup interaction is also open to such interpretation, as Goffman (1963) makes clear. Here, however, the focus is on intergroup interaction.

Goffman (1963:193) discusses the concept in the following passage.

> I have suggested that the behavior of an individual while in a situation is guided by social values or norms concerning involvement. These rulings apply to the intensity of involvements, their distribution among possible main and side activities, and, importantly, their tendency to bring him into an engagement with all, some, or none present. There will be then a patterned distribution or allocation of the individual's involvement. By taking the point of view of the situation as whole, we can link the involvement allocation of each participant to that maintained by each of the other participants, piercing together in this way a pattern that can be described as the structure of involvement in the situation. (And just as we speak of actual allocations and structures of involvement, so we can consider matters from the normative point of view and speak of prescribed allocations and structures of involvement). Since the shape and distribution of involvement nicely enfolds an aspect of everything that goes on within a situation, we can perhaps speak here of the structure of the situation.

Certainly, then, one can speak of "situational ethnicity". In such a case the identity chosen by actors in interaction is a function of the total situation, including the meaning attached in the social field to various ethnic identities. The structure of the situation would include these meanings. However, by "situational ethnicity" I mean more than the use of one ethnic identity (for example Hausa) in one situation and that of another by the same person (for example Gungawa) in another. Although I do not exclude the above from the definition, I am also concerned with the various ways members of ethnic groups in a multiethnic situation interact with one another; for example in Yauri to be a Gungawa means something very different in situations involving interaction with Hausa than it does in those situations in which Gungawa and Kamberi may interact. I believe that Goffman's concept of situational identity provides a beginning to the solution of this troublesome problem.

Barth's major insights into ethnic boundary maintenance have, as mentioned above, developed ethnic theory from Goffman's fundamental per-

ceptions regarding the importance of boundaries, their situational nature, and their involvement in structuring social interaction. The role of impression management in the above process has been acknowledged by Barth. Furthermore, Barth clearly has demonstrated that the use of the concept situational identity is a fruitful one in ethnic research. He and his disciples (1969) have shown that members of the same ethnic group can act differently in differing ecological conditions while manitaining some ethnic identity. He has also discerned the situational nature of ethnic identity change, a major theoretical position supported by data in my own field research (Salamone 1974). Thus, I am primarily suggesting an extension of work begun by Barth.

Perhaps, it would be constructive here to summarize the major points of Barth's theoretical position in order to make my suggestions clearer. Then I will recommend ways of combining Barth's and Goffman's views with those of Goodenough.

In Barth's view ethnic groups are organizational groups used by their members to achieve particular goals. They are distinguished from other organizational groups in a number of ways. Chief among these is their method of recruitment, which is by ascription. They encompass all people whose claims to membership through birthright are validated by other members. In theory, then, people are born members of ethnic groups, and they are so identified by self and other identification. Interethnic interaction is patterned on responding to people as members of one's own or another ethnic group. In practice, however, ethnic groups frequently receive as members people who achieve membership as well as those born into the group. Their boundaries are permeable and people, sometimes singly and sometimes in groups, cross them. In general, they do so either to maximize their opportunities

or to minimize perceived threats. There are a number of reasons why receiving groups would allow new members to permeate their boundaries although each situation needs empirical observation to explain fully all the variables, normally the recipient group perceives the addition of new members as an advantage in coping with sociocultural problems.

No assumption is made that the flow of personnel will always be in one direction. Its direction can indeed be in two directions. (I would suggest it can even be multidirectional.) The frequency and direction of personnel exchange is, in fact, a matter for empirical observation, and one that is a key indicator that changes are occurring in the social field of which an individual ethnic group is only a part. The fact that ethnic groups do change personnel, not only through birth and death, but also through the addition of new members and loss of old ones via identity change emphasizes their dynamic nature. They are not isolates, existing unchanging through time in splendid isolation, nor are their boundaries necessarily coterminous with their culture and/or society; i.e., an ethnic group can share a culture with one or more similar ethnic groups, while maintaining a separate identity, and frequently is part of a social system that encompasses a number of other ethnic groups.

In fact, it is this sharing of a social field with other ethnic groups that generates a consciousness of separateness that is a hallmark of the use of ethnicity in the formation of ethnic groups. It is in contact with other ethnic groups that any particular group may find a need to redefine itself through time. Ethnic groups help define the world of interaction while at the same time they are organizing it. In Barth's use, ethnic groups combine aspects of what Reader (1964:14) labels egocentric and categorical models. Egocentric models (for example roles, networks) start from a social person and work outward. Such models tend not to

concentrate on aspects of social structure and equilibrium, but on actions traced from selected egos. Categorical models analyse "the categories of interaction in casual social intercourse" (Reader 1964:14); i.e., between people who view one another as belonging to different social categories. Ethnic groups, therefore, are categories for identification (member/non-member) as well as means for channeling behavior, especially behavior that distinguishes one group from another of that same type. The activities distinguished by ethnic groups can vary from that of cultural symbiosis (Barth 1964) to that of ethnic stratification (Barth 1969:27-28).

So long as a group perceives a need to maintain a separate identity from another group it will maintain an ethnic boundary. It can do so in a number of ways, but all of these can be reduced to the following formula: Minor differences between groups will be magnified and major differences within groups will be ignored (Barth 1969 and LeVine 1966). The need to magnify minor differences would seem to increase as groups come into greater and greater contact and become increasingly more alike. The fewer activities performed in Goffman's (1967) backstage areas, those nonarticulated areas between groups in contact, the greater the need to accentuate differences between groups, provided, of course, that these groups perceive advantages in perpetuating separate identities.

It is in the discussion of identity that we have come full circle to Goffman again and from which point the insights of Goodenough clarify what has become a rather murky area. Goffman's (1967:50) original statement regarding social identity is:

> When an individual becomes involved in the maintenance of a rule, he tends to become committed to a particular image of self. In the case of his obligations, he becomes to himself and others the sort of person who follows this particular rule, the sort of person who would naturally be expected to do so.

As restated by Barkow (1972:15), in Barthian terminology, the rule reads

> When a group of individuals become involved in the maintenance of rules, they tend to become committed to a particular group identity. In the case of their obligations, they become to themselves and others the sort of persons who follow these particular rules.

In brief, in order to maintain their internal coherence, ethnic groups require that their members view themselves as somehow different from members of other similar categories. While adherence to different rules for behavior and willingness to be judged by these rules signify one's allegiance to and membership in a group, they do not explain his self-perception as a member of group "A" rather than any other group. They are behavioral consequences of his self-perception, not causes of it.

Furthermore, while Barkow's[2] restatement of Goffman does point to a means out of the murky area of social identity, it does not go far enough. In other words, it does not explain how or why a person behaves differently in different social situations. Thus, while moving away from the overly static position of classical status and role theory, it is still, like Barth's general theory, too closely tied to it. It does not do enough with the concept of situational identity, as mentioned above.

Goodenough's Social "Persons" as an Ethnic Group

There has long been disatisfaction in anthropology with Linton's (1936) classical statment of the concepts of status and role (cf. Reader 1964). While a number of scholars have attempted to modify the concepts, no one until Goodenough (1969:311ff) really came to grips with what was wrong with them; viz, the tendency, of writers to confuse status with social person. In

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[2] It is only fair to note that Barkow is working on another extension of Barthian theory, the adding of a psychological anthropological dimension to it through operationalizing Bateson's (1936) concept of "ethos".

Goodenough's (1969:312) words,

> Unfortunately, Linton went on to discuss statuses not as collections of rights and duties but as categories or kinds of person. All writers who do not treat status as synonymous with social rank do much the same thing... All alike treat a social category together with its attached rights and duties as an indivisible unit of analysis, which they label a 'status' or 'position' in a social relationship. This lumping together of independent phenomena, each with organizations of their own, accounts, I think, for our apparent inability to exploit the status-role concepts to our satisfaction in social and cultural analysis. For example, my brother is my brother, whether he honors his obligations as such or not. A policeman's conduct in office may lead to social events that formally remove him from office, but it does not determine in any direct way whether he is a policeman or not. Other social transactions determine what his social category or identity actually is. Furthermore, there are legislative transactions that can serve to alter the rights and duties that attach to the categories policeman in its dealings with other categories without the defining characteristics of the category being in any way altered. What makes him legally and formally a policeman need not have been affected.
>
> These considerations have led me to break with established sociological practice. I shall consistently treat statuses as combinations of right and duty only. I shall emphasize their conceptual autonomy from social 'positions' in a categorical sense by refering to the latter as <u>social identities</u>. I would, for example, speak of ascribed and achieved identities where Linton (1936:115) speaks of 'ascribed' and 'achieved' statuses. In accordance with Linton's original definitions, then, the formal properties of statuses involve (1) what legal theorists call rights, duties, privileges, powers, liabilities and immunities (Hoebel 1954:48-49) and (2) the ordered ways in which these are distributed in what I shall call <u>identity relationships</u>.

Goodenough has managed to add a dynamic element to the concept of status and role, far more powerful than that of treating role as a theatrical concept referring to the manner in which an actor performs his part. In Goodenough's usage status, a collection of rights and duties, refers to a boundary and to the maintenance of that boundary. "Status", thus, is a means for conceptualizing the articulation of relationships involving social identities. While a person's social identity may not change from one relationship to

another (he will still be a policeman) his rights and duties (status) will change. Thus, a social identity has attached to it a number of statuses.

In Goodenough's (1969:313) terminology, "A social identity is an aspect of self that makes a difference in how one's rights and duties distribute to specific others." Goodenough's conceptualization has the advantage of focussing on situational interaction. Social identity, thus, becomes a dynamic multidimensional facet of self. It is largely defined through action, but it is action limited by a cultural definition. Part of that limitation is, of course, the context in which the social interaction takes place. At this point we are returning to Goffman's insights regarding the social situation. Certainly the identity of the other, or alter, influence behavior because it affects one's rights and duties. It has been just that failure to consider the situational nature of identity that has led to disatisfaction with the use of status and role (Goodenough 1969:314).

At this point in his analysis Goodenough (1969:314) rather casually mentions that alter in an interaction may be a group. He (1969:328) extends his comments in a footnote stating that such an alter is best regarded as a corporation, whose rights and duties are independent from the individual social identities of the members who compose the groups. However, one can argue, in his own terms that the members of such a group may in fact receive ascribed social identities (in some cases achieved ones) by virtue of their membership in such groups. Indeed, as Barth (1969) has demonstrated,members of ethnic groups are distinguished in large measure from members of other groups through their overriding ascriptive identification as such members. In short, membership in an ethnic group confers a social identity on self, an identity in situations of ethnic heterogeneity that often overrides all his other identities. Furthermore, while a person's ethnic identity may remain the same in a series of interactions with member's of other ethnic

groups, his status (rights and duties) may very well change in each of those relationships, even when all other things are held equal (relative wealth, occupations, age, sex, etc.).

This last point is important, for each self has, by definition, a number of social identities. Therefore, each interaction provides an occasion for the selection of appropriate identities to present. Goodenough (1969:314-15) states that the two criteria for the selection of identities are 1) possession, and 2) the occasion for the interaction. The setting, he believes, is more important to the way in which identities will be used than to their selection. The people engaged in social interaction must find ways of communicating their identities; i.e., they must use symbols proper to their claims to certain rights and duties (status) in any social situation. In brief, they must define the boundaries of the situation. This is precisely the function of ethnic boundary markers which belong to this same category of symbols used to define the proper limits of social interaction.

The combination of social identities which the self chooses to use in given interaction situations Goodenough (1969:316) terms social persona. There are certain identities of a self that must always be used in the "grammatical" construction of a social persona. In many societies sexual identification is of overriding importance. In others, age may be. In still others, ethnic membership is such an identity. Goodenough (1969:317) argues:

> The selection of identities in composing social relationships, then, is not unlike the selection of words in composing sentences in that it must conform to syntactic principles governing (1) the arrangement of social identities with one another in identity relationships, 2) the association of identities with occasions or activities, and 3) the compatibility of identities as features of a coherent social persona.

It seems appropriate to point out here that my data on stereotyping in Yauri fit these criteria. It places people into categories such that

ethnicity is a 1) combination of social identities, 2) series of statuses, and, finally 3) social persona. There is that "culturally ordered system of social relationships" Goodenough 1969:317) that aids in predicting social action. Relationships between ethnic groups follow the same rules as those in which other "selfs and alters" are involved.

I realize that in suggesting that ethnic groups be treated as social persona I have gone beyond Goodenough's intent. However, I do not think that I have gone against it. I have moved carefully along lines he mapped out in order to explore between group interaction in terms of status (rights and duties) and behavior. His concepts of social identity and social persona and their relationship to that of status open new areas in the understanding of ethnic interaction. Combined with Goffman's and Barth's insights they promise better predictability in the ana. 's of ethnic interaction; i.e., with between group, not within group, d. rences.

Ethnic groups are at one and the same time collections of sta. identities and social persona and categories that channel interaction with similar entities in a social field. In these interactions each ethnic group functions as a social persona, combining social identities within a field of possible statuses. Each presents itself to each other ethnic group in a social field in a slightly different way because the relationships are differentially structured. Thus, some groups are allies, some hold each other in mutual contempt, some exploit complementary ecological niches, some have asymetrical relationships, etc. In Goodenough's terms, the statuses will vary with the social relationships. Each group, acting as a social persona, will choose those social identities it perceives as most compatible in its interactions with each other group. These identities, according to Goodenough, have a series, or field, of possible statuses (rights and duties) vis a vis other groups that bound them. Thus, it is possible to conceive of

ethnic boundaries as combinations of these status boundaries. An ethnic group could conceivably be defined in terms ot its possible combination of statuses in all its possible "grammatical" social situations. Certainly, this could be done area by area, wherever a given ethnic group is found.

Since these boundaries, then, can and do differ for each set of inter-ethnic relationships between any given ethnic group and any other such group, it is easier to visualize the shifting nature of ethnicity if one conceives of it as a situational identity, in Goffman's terminology but with the clear statement that identity is used in Goodenough's sense. Such an approach clarifies much of what Barth seems to mean when he deals with the concept of ethnic boundary maintenance. It also enables the researcher to keep clear the distinction between rights and duties and the person empowered to make use of them, but these other advantages of the restatement of status and role are adequately dealt with by Goodenough himself (1969:324-327). Suffice it here to suggest that its extension to the study of ethnicity is one that enables us to increase our understanding of ethnic groups.

Dimensions of the Case Study

Purpose

It is the purpose of the following case study to provide data on ethnic stereotyping within the theoretical framework outlined above. Thus, I am interested in preparing data on the cognitive dimensions of behavior. In order to do so, I treat ethnic groups as social persona, categories composed of statuses, social identities, and distributions of these in a social field. In order to maintain boundaries, viewed as the distribution of statuses (rights and duties vis a vis member of other groups), there is a need for the use of symbolic behavior, role playing in Goodenough's theoretical framework. This, symbolic behavior can be viewed as an ethnic boundary

marker[3]. Status can be different for the same group because each occasion of interaction can be differentially perceived.

Of course, it is members of ethnic groups who interact with members of other ethnic groups. In situations, such as that prevailing in Yauri, in which ethnicity is the major principle for the recruitment of groups then a person's ethnic identity becomes an overriding one, one that enters into any possible syntactic combination of social identities into a persona. A person's initial perception of a member of another ethnic group in Yauri is stereotypical and his choice of behavior is consequent on his choice of identity. Furthermore, he knows how alter perceives him; viz, as a member of a category of social persona whose behavior is predictable on the basis of that knowledge alone.

Setting

Yauri Division, coterminous with Yauri Emirate, is part of the North-Western State of Nigeria. It is one of the smallest divisions in what was formerly Northern Nigeria, an area in the Sudanic climate zone. The British fixed its boundaries in 1918 and its physical dimensions remain essentially unchanged (NANK: 193/1920; NANK: SNP17; NANK: K6099 Vols. I and II). In 1968 the Nigerian government added a small parcel of land from Kontagora Division in compensation for land lost through the flooding of many islands as a result of the building of Kainji Dam (Roder 1970).

In 1972, the area of Yauri was 1306 square miles, and its population was approximately 112,000. There were six districts within the Division. Its capital, Yelwa, formed a district coterminous with the town. Its population was about 11,000. The other districts were Ngaski (27,000), Shanga

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[3] If one objects that boundary markers can be "things" as well as behavior, we could answer, following the archaeologist, that artifacts are frozen bits of behavior. Of course, it is not the "thing" but its symbolic meaning and usage that helps define its function as a boundary marker.

(35,000), Kwanji (12,000), and the old capital, Bin Yauri (11,000). Population density was 84 people per square mile.

Each district has its own ethnic mix. As its name implies Gungu (island) District is largely inhabited by Gungawa (island-dwellers). By 1972 most of its population had been shifted from islands to the mainland, a major ecological change resulting from the flooding of the Niger River consequent on the building of the hydroelectric dam (Kainji) at New Bussa in neighboring Kwara State. The Dukawa in Yauri are found in Shanga District, among settlements of Gungawa and Shangawa. Yelwa town and Bin Yauri are centers of greatest Hausa concentration, although a number of Kamberi and Gungawa also live in Bin Yauri. Kwanji District contains a number of unresettled Gungawa who retain more of the traditional institutions than do resettled Gungawa. Ngaski District is ethnically composed of Kamberi, Lopowa, and Hausa. In addition to these major groups, the Division contained members of other ethnic groups as well: Cattle Fulani, a few Dakarkari, about 2,000 Yoruba (mainly from Abeokuta), a few Igbo, substantial numbers of Mid-Westerners (Itserkeri and Edo), five Euroamerican missionaries, two Egyptian families, one Indian family, and a smattering of representatives from other groups, including one Welchman.

It must be understood that Yauri's 1972 ethnic distribution was not that which existed throughout history. In fact, in the 1960's a series of major changes occurred which I discuss at length in another place (Salamone 1974:135-228). The processes of self and other identification, however, were remarkably uniform.

School System

There had been a major expansion of Yauri's school system from the time of Nigerian independence up to the time of my second field trip in 1972.

Thus, in 1966 there had been only one Senior Primary School (class 5-7) and 7 Junior Primary Schools (classes 1-4 or less). With a projected population of 960 students, 684 male and 276 female, (Six year forecast of Enrollment at Yauri: N.A. Schools for the Period 1966-1972). The total school age population of Yauri was about 15,000. This was an increase of 61 from 1964 (when there were 667 males and 232 females in school).

The contrast between 1955 and 1971 is startling (cf. Table 1). In 1955 there were 450 students in four schools, all Junior Primary Schools, with a combined total of fifteen classrooms. In 1971, there were 2496 students in twelve schools, with a total of sixty-three classrooms. Enrollment had increased 454% while the number of classrooms had increased 320%. In 1971 the total school age population of Yauri was about 17,500 (Yau/EA/Plan/18/Vol.I:87).

The figures from Bin Yauri school from 1960-1971 are illustrative of the major growth in Yauri's educational system (cf. Table 2). The total population of Bin Yauri is about 11,000. In 1960 it had 80 students in school, 56 males and 24 females. In 1971 there were 280 children in school, 208 males and 72 females (Yau/EA/Plan/18/Vol.I:101). The number of children attending schools is increasing more quickly than the division can provide for them. These children are fairly representative of Yauri's ethnic heterogeneity with the following exceptions. The Dukawa and Kamberi are grossly under represented. For example, there was only one Dukawa student in the entire school system in 1972. Southern groups (Yoruba, Itsekeri, et.al.) are over represented as are Hausa. However, the government has tried to expand the system to provide formal education for all minority groups. In 1972, three new schools were begun in remote areas of the Division, raising the number of schools to 15. Nine are already Senior Primary Schools In

Table I

School Expansion in Yauri - 1955-1971

	1955	1971	Increase in Number	Increase in %
Schools	4	12	8	300%
Classrooms	15	63	48	320%
Enrollment	450	2496	2046	454%

Table 2

School Population Figures Bin Yauri 1960-1971

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Total Population	7151	7015	7362	7709	8621	8632	8942	9124	9586	9887	10603	10805
No. of Schoolage Children	667	658	690	723	809	809	839	856	899	926	994	1014
In School	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	120	152	200	240	280
Girls of Schoolage	226	219	230	241	270	270	279	285	299	308	331	337
Girls in School	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	36	48	60	72	72
Boys of Schoolage	441	439	460	482	539	539	539	560	571	600	618	677
Boys in School	56	56	56	56	56	56	56	56	84	140	168	208

time, all fifteen will be since each new school will add one new class per year. Officially, there were 286 primary school students, 2003 male and 857 female, in a school age population of about 17,960 (cf. Table 3).

In addition to the Primary schools Yauri has one secondary school, begun January 1970. Nigeria has a number of different post-primary schools. The most prestigeous is the college, a kind of super-secondary school that has its pick of primary school graduates. Each primary school graduate takes a common entrance examination. The highest possible score is 400. A score of 200 is the lowest that a student can receive and still qualify for an entrance interview at a college. Ranked below colleges are a number of other institutions ranging from Teacher Training Colleges, similar to old Normal Schools in the United States, through various technical schools to schools like Yauri Secondary School. In brief, Yauri Secondary School is a school for all those who cannot gain admittance elsewhere. It is not a state school. Rather it is a Local Authority School which the state may take over after five years, if it is still in operation. Its primary function is to salvage students who may have enough intelligence to continue their education but whose English is too poor for them to gain admittance to higher powered schools. All thirty-five of the students are male and all are from the North-Western State. Only two, however, are from Yauri (cf. Tables 4-8). The only two properly qualified teachers in 1972 were the Indian headmaster and the Welchman from the Volunteer Service Organization (U.S.O.). The Arabic Teacher needed no other qualifications except his reading and speaking knowledge of Arabic. The other two teachers, were Midwesterners who were Grade II teachers, secondary school graduates with one year's training beyond secondary school. Secondary school teachers should have a Nigerian Certificate of Education, given after successful completion of a three year university certificate course.

Table 3

Number of Children in Schools in Yauri Division in 1972, By Classes and Sex

School	Class 1			Class 2			Class 3			Class 4			Class 5			Class 6			Class 7			Grant Total		
	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	Girl	Total
Wali	27	13	40	28	12	40	28	12	40	28	12	40	26	14	40	25	15	40	27	13	40	189	91	280
Wara	27	13	40	21	11	40	30	10	40	33	7	40	29	9	38	32	8	40	----------			180	58	238
Bin Yauri	27	13	40	27	13	40	29	11	40	30	10	40	32	8	40	32	8	40	30	10	40	207	73	280
Waje	27	13	40	28	12	40	28	12	40	29	11	40	31	9	40	32	8	40	----------			175	65	240
Sabon Gari	27	13	40	27	13	40	27	13	40	26	14	40	27	13	40	29	11	40	28	12	40	191	89	280
Takware	27	13	40	27	13	40	26	14	40	28	12	40	30	10	40	32	7	39	31	6	37	201	75	276
Gebbe	27	13	40	28	12	40	27	13	40	28	12	40	28	12	40	22	9	31	19	19	38	184	88	269
Dugo Tsofo	27	13	40	28	12	40	28	12	40	22	18	40	24	16	40	30	10	40	21	16	37	180	97	277
Tondi	27	13	40	27	13	40	30	10	40	30	10	40	29	13	42	29	9	38	----------			172	68	240
Ngaski	27	13	40	26	14	40	27	13	40	30	10	40	----------			----------			----------			110	50	160
Giro	27	13	40	28	12	40	27	13	40	----------			----------			----------			----------			82	38	120
Shanga	27	13	40	27	13	40	----------			----------			----------			----------			----------			54	26	80
Koma	27	13	40	----------			----------			----------			----------			----------			----------			27	13	40
R/Kirya	27	13	40	- ----------			----------			----------			----------			----------			----------			27	13	40
Utano	27	13	40	----------			----------			----------			----------			----------			----------			27	13	40
GRAND TOTAL	405	195	600	330	150	480	307	133	440	284	116	400	256	104	360	279	98	357	159	66	225	2003	857	2860

00021

Table 4

Age of Students - Yauri Secondary School - 1972

Age	Number
12½-13	2
14	0
15	4
16	9
17	6
18	9
19	1
20	0
21	0
21+	1
Not recorded	3
	35

Table 5

Residence of Students - Yauri Secondary School

Residence	Number
Argungu	4
Sokoto	14
Gwandu	6
Jega	1
Yauri	2
Other	8
	35

Table 6

Student's Fathers' Occupation - Yauri Secondary School

Occupation	Number
Farmer	25
Village Head	2
Civil Servant	1
Court Scribe	1
Forest Department Employee	1
Local Authority Works	1
Teacher	1
Judge	1
District Head	1
District Scribe	1
	35

Table 7

Students Ethnic Groups

Ethnic Group	Number
Hausa	24
Fulani	7
Bagobiri (Hausa)	1
Banzafare	1
Not recorded	3
	35

Table 8

Teachers in Yauri Secondary School

Teacher	Ethnic Group	Teaching Certificate
"A"	Indian	University Degree
"B"	European	University Degree
"C"	Hausa	None (Arabic Teacher)
"D"	Edo	Grade II
"E"	Edo	Grade II

The personnel situation that prevailed at Yauri Secondary School was common throughout the primary school system. Thus, the responses of primary and secondary school students were not unduly weighted because of the presence of "foreigners" among the teaching staff. Table 9 summarizes the ethnic makeup of the teaching staff in some of Yauri's primary schools. It is simple truth to state that without the "Southerners" (Midwesterners, Easterners and Westerners) the school system of Yauri could not have functioned in 1972, especially since all "Southerners" were at least Grade II teachers. The attitude of these Southerners toward Yauri's students will be discussed in the next section. In brief, it was openly negative and contributed to their hostility against Midwesterners, Igbo and Yoruba. However, open contempt for non-Hausa students was openly shown by Hausa teachers, contributing to the perpetuation of ethnic stereotyping. Full discussion and evaluation of Yauri's school system, of course, is beyond the scope of this paper.

Techniques and Methodology

Simple questionnaires (cf. Appendix) were administered to children in classes six and seven and to secondary school students. A student who accompanied me and I administered the questionnaires in the primary schools. In every case a teacher translated the questions into Hausa and explained them to students. In some cases, we had to exercise care to prevent teachers from unduly influencing students. The Welch U.S.O. volunteer administered questionnaires to secondary school students. In all a total of 121 usable questionnaires were obtained.

The questionnaires' open-ended responses, were coded.[1] Thus, synonyms or various qualitative characteristics were coded into categories. For example, the category "gentle" included terms such as "peaceful" and "kindly". Many responses needed no coding since they asked for rank orderings or other answers that were pre-coded (age, parents' ethnic group, etc.). The data were cross-tabulated to discover what patterns existed. Thus, a series of tables were obtained. Those most pertinent to this study (cf. Tables 11-24) are: Ranking of Ethnic Groups by Percentage; Ranking of Ethnic Groups by Total Points; Number and Percentage of Various Ethnic Groups in Sample; Father's Ethnic Group; Mother's Ethnic Group; Interethnic Marriage; Qualitative Stereotypes; Students Religion; Student's Ethnic Group and Rating of Hausa, Dakkawa, Gungawa, Kamberi, Igbo, Fulani, Yoruba, and Midwesterners. In addition, tests were run to discover if any differences existed between responses according to age and school, primary vs. secondary.

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[1] The coding of material and the patient feeding of data to the computer was done by a student, Arthur Thomas. For his patience in coping with unfamiliar Hausa responses and in dealing with a touchy computor I am deeply grateful.

Table 11

Ranking of Ethnic Groups-Percentage choosing for each position.

Rank	Group	Percentage
1	Hausa	71
2	Fulani	33
3	Kamberi	19
4	Gungawa	19
5	Lopawa	18.1
6	Yoruba	11.5
7	Shangawa	16.5
8	Igbo	21.4
9	Dukawa	19.8
10	Midwesterners	59.5

Table 12

Ranking of Ethnic Groups - Based on Points - 10 for choice 1 to 2 for choice 9

Rank	Group	Points
1	Hausa	1150
2	Fulani	847
3	Gungawa	750
4	Kamberi	695
5	Yoruba	665
6	Dukawa	574
7	Shangawa	566
8	Lopawa	513
9	Igbo	478
10	Midwesterners	432

Table 13

Number and Percentage of Various Ethnic Groups in Sample

Group	Number	Percentage
Kamberi	3	2.4
Hausa	74	61.1
Dukawa	1	0.8
Gungawa	15	12.3
Igbo	0	0.0
Lopawa	0	0.0
Shangawa	0	0.0
Yoruba	7	5.7
Midwesterners & others	8	6.5
Fulani	13	10.9
TOTAL	121	99.7*

*Loss of 0.3% because of computer rounds off decimals.

Table 14

Father's Ethnic Group

Group	Number	Percentage
Kamberi	3	2.4
Hausa	74	61.1
Dukawa	1	0.8
Gungawa	15	12.3
Igbo	0	0.0
Lopawa	0	0.0
Shangawa	0	0.0
Yoruba	7	5.7
Midwesterners & others	8	6.5
Fulani	13	10.9
TOTAL	121	99.7*

*Loss of 0.3% because computer rounds off decimals

Table 15

Mother's Ethnic Group

Group		Number	Percentage
Kamberi		8	6.6
Hausa	53	53	43.8
Dukawa	1	1	0.8
Gungawa	24	24	19.8
Igbo	0	0	0.0
Lopawa	0	0	0.0
Shangawa	1	1	0.8
Yoruba	8	8	6.6
Midwesterners & others	11	11	9.0
Fulani	15	15	12.3
TOTAL	121	121	99.8*

*Loss of 0.2% because computer rounds off decimals

Table 16

Interethnic Marriage

Father's Ethnic Group

Mother's Ethnic Group	Number	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Igbo	Lopawa	Shangawa	Yoruba	Midwesterners & others	Fulani
Kamberi	8	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hausa	53	1	49	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Dukawa	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gungawa	24	1	11	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
Igbo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lopawa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shangawa	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yoruba	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	0	0
Midwesterners & others	11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0
Fulani	15	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
TOTAL	121	3	74	1	15	0	0	0	7	10	11

00028

Table 17

Summary of Qualitative Stereotypes

Group	Stereotype
Kamberi	Farmers, Gentle
Hausa	Civilized, Fisherfolk
Fulani	Cattleherders, Warlike
Gungawa	Farmers, Helpful
Hausa	Merchants, Unhelpful
Dukawa	Farmers, Fighters, Craftsmen, Hunters
Yoruba	Merchants, Civilized
Igbo	Foreigners, Antisocial
Shangawa	Fishermen, Wrestlers
Midwesterners	Fishmongers, Helpful
Europeans	Strangers, Civilized

Table 18

Students Religion*

	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Midwesterners & others	Fulani	TOTAL
Christianity	0	2	1	12	3	3	0	21
Islam	5	70	0	0	4	8	12	99
Traditional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	5	72	1	12	7	11	12	120

1 Hausa student did not respond

Table 19

Student's Ethnic Group and Rating of Hausa

Rank	Midwesterners & others	Fulani	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	TOTAL
1	7	5	5	64	-	3	2	86
2	4	5	-	7	-	4	5	25
3	-	1	-	2	-	3	-	6
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
8	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TOTAL	11	12	5	73	1	12	7	121

Table 20

Student's Ethnic Group and Rating of Dukawa

Rank	Midwesterners and others	Fulani	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Total
1.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
2.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
3.	1	0	1	7	0	2	2	13
4.	2	1	0	8	0	1	1	13
5.	1	1	1	13	0	1	1	18
6.	1	3	0	11	0	2	2	19
7.	1	3	0	10	0	2	0	16
8.	3	1	1	8	0	1	1	15
9.	1	3	2	15	0	2	0	24
TOTAL	11	12	5	72	1	12	7	120

X^2=137.447 (significant at $\geq$ .001)

Table 21

Student's Ethnic Group and Rating of Gungawa

Rank	Midwesterners and others	Fulani	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Total
1.	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	6
2.	0	2	0	10	1	2	0	15
3.	3	1	2	10	0	1	0	17
4.	2	2	1	16	0	0	2	23
5.	0	2	0	7	0	1	2	12
6.	0	3	0	13	0	2	1	19
7.	0	1	1	6	0	0	0	8
8.	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	7
9.	4	1	0	6	0	1	2	14
TOTAL	11	12	5	73	1	12	7	121

X^2=68 (not significant)

Table 22

Student's Ethnic Group and Rating of Kamberi

Rank	Midwesterners and others	Fulani	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Total
1.	1	2	0	5	0	1	1	10
2.	1	0	0	18	0	2	0	21
3.	1	3	2	13	1	2	2	24
4.	2	2	2	6	0	1	0	13
5.	2	2	0	7	0	1	1	13
6.	1	2	0	4	0	1	0	8
7.	0	1	1	6	0	1	0	9
8.	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	5
9.	3	0	0	10	0	1	3	17
TOTAL	11	12	5	72	1	12	7	120

X^2=36.871 (not significant)

Table 23

Student's Ethnic Group-Rating of Igbo

Rank	Midwesterners and others	Fulani	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Total
1.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
2.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
3.	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
4.	1	1	0	3	0	1	0	6
5.	0	0	1	12	0	2	1	16
6.	4	0	0	5	0	0	0	9
7.	1	2	2	8	0	0	1	14
8.	1	4	1	15	0	3	2	26
9.	4	5	1	26	1	4	3	44
TOTAL	11	12	5	73	1	12	7	120

X^2=29.986 (not significant)

Table 24

Student's Ethnic Group-Rating of Fulani

Rank	Midwesterners and others	Fulani	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Total
1.	1	5	0	2	0	0	0	8
2.	1	4	4	31	0	0	0	40
3.	2	0	0	9	0	1	0	12
4.	1	1	0	10	1	4	3	20
5.	1	1	1	7	0	2	1	13
6.	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	5
7.	3	0	0	2	0	2	0	7
8.	1	0	0	5	0	1	1	8
9.	1	0	0	5	0	2	1	8
TOTAL	11	12	5	73	1	12	7	121

X^2-56.869 (not significant)

These data were compared with my ethnographic observations, as well as being subjected to internal comparisons. Thus, "traditional" observations are used to interpret the results of statistical analysis. In other words, I endeavor to discover the connection between actual behavior and stereotyping, between actual behavior and the "ideal" responses to questions. To a very limited extent I also use responses to TAT's adapted for Nigerian use.[2] These profiles are strictly supplementary to my other data and are primarily a tool to illustrate obvious cultural themes.

Since the primary schools used in the sample differ little from the general description in the above section there is little to add here. The schools rather generally reflect the ethnic makeup of the areas in which they are located. Thus, Tondi and Gebbe schools are predominately Gungawa. None of the teachers at these schools in 1972 were Gungawa. In general, they held their students in contempt.[3] The major exception to ethnic representation in the schools sampled are the Dukawa. Only one Dukawa student was in any school in Yauri, or in Northern Nigeria for that matter. Fortunately, I spent a good deal of field time with him and with other Dukawa. Though a-typical in a number of ways, his opinions regarding other ethnic groups were indeed typical. Only eight Kamberi appear in my sample, and seven are children of interethnic marriages. Thus, their "typicality" can also be questioned. However, their responses also match my fieldwork predictions. Finally, the nature of my fieldwork prevented my obtaining samples from districts at Yauri's northwestern or southwestern extremes (cf. Map of Yauri's Ethnic Composition in Appendix). Therefore, no Shangawa or Lopawa

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[2] My thanks for permission to use these goes to Ralph Faulkinham, Charles Keil, and Jerome Barkow.

[3] Two Gungawa students, both Christians, from Shabanda, a village near Gebbe, were finishing their requirements for a Grade II teaching certificate and were slated to teach in Tondi.

appear in the sample at all and no Kamberi from Wara and Libata, a center of Kamberi culture, appear in the sample. Still the sample is sufficient for present purposes, to illustrate the usefulness of an approach using Goodenough's insights in expanding the Barthian concept of ethnic groups It is useful in suggesting a means for conducting further research and adding to the precision of anthropological predictability.

Analysis of Data

In an overall ranking of ethnic groups in Yauri there is little doubt that the Hausa are first and Midwesterners (Edo, Itsekeri, et. al.) last (cf. Tables 11, 12). However, the Midwesterners, who are well-aware of the hatred directed their way, do not openly return the Hausa's contempt for them (cf. Table 19). Perhaps, it is better to say that like members of every other ethnic group in Yauri Midwesterners realize where the power lies. Since they are strangers to Yauri and live in or near Yelwa town, accessible to the authorities, their respect and awareness of authority is an adaptive response of the highest priority. Their respect, however, should not be interpreted as affection or love. They despise Hausa and privately do not hide that fact. One teacher left his employment early and chose unemployment in the Midwest and "subjugation" to his parents to living any longer among the "stupid, backward Hausa". He daily feared for his life. Of course, his outspokeness did not aid his feeling safe and secure in a Hausa-dominated area.

The fact that Midwesterrers rank lower than any other strangers, even the hated Igbo, is a reflection of their economic position in Yauri. When the people of Yauri expelled the Igbo, "Southerners" swarmed in to assume their jobs. While Yoruba are definitely "Southerners", Yoruba who came

were Muslims.[4] All of the Midwesterners[5] were Christians and have remained so. Thus, they rank significantly lower than Yoruba. They also are far less organized than the more homogeneous Yoruba and are vulnerable to being recipients of much more pressure. The difference in their mutual ranking is a reflection of many things, of course, but it is primarily a counterpart of their differential access to power. It is also an echo of their tremendous cultural differences, differences predictably expressed by a low ranking from those in positions accessible to power and high ranking from those in power subordinate positions.

To state the matter differently, there is a difference in their status vis à vis one another. In Goodenough's terms each has different rights, duties, and privileges in relationships with members of the other's group. For example, while only one Hausa father in the sample has married a Midwestern woman (cf. Table 16) Hausa men have the right to marry Midwestern women. Midwestern men do not have such rights. In Yauri they marry or remain married to "Southerners", perferably Midwesterners.

What I am suggesting is that one way to treat the aggregrate data in Tables 11 and 12 is as a summary of ranked rights and duties. Then significant differences from the general ranking can be dealt with as important cases. Thus Gungawa tend to rate themselves more highly than do some other group (Cf. Table 11) while the Kamberi tend to rate themselves essentially as other people do (Cf. Table 12). Unfortunately, only one Dukawa is in the sample and although his answers are ethnographically typical they must be used with caution since any idiosyncracies rather unduly bias any results.

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[4] One of the Yoruba headmasters was a Catholic when he arrived in Yauri. He converted to Islam and shortly after became a headmaster of Waje Primary School. He is highly respected in the community, even though he is a partner in a trucking business with a Midwestern Catholic. In the sample 4 of 7 Yoruba are Muslim.

[5] I am perfectly aware that there are a large number of Midwestern ethnic groups However, in Yauri "Midwestern" has become an emic category into which members of all Midwestern groups are lumped, analagous to the manner in which all "Europeans", including Americans, are lumped together in one category.

If one can point to his pattern of responses, then, as at least tenatively typical, it is clear that the Dukawa are clearly different culturally from other societies in Yauri, a point clear from ethnographic data (Prazan [redacted]

There are a number of other simple but important statements about the Yauri social situation that emerge clearly from Tables 11, 12 and 17. The more foreign a group is to Yauri, the lower its overall rank. The general agreement of all except the Dukawa regarding relative ranking (Cf. Tables 19-24) emphasizes the fact that Yauri is in fact a social field in which the rules for interaction are understood and shared. Incidently one might predict a good deal of trouble between Dukawa and Hausa, and one would be correct. In fact, the Dukawa are perhaps the most aggressively independent people in all Yauri. It is interesting that they are ranked lower than Yoruba on both tables and then Igbo on Table 2. Shangawa and Lopawa are, in fact, relative strangers in central Yauri where the questionnaire was distributed, for they live on the fringes of Yauri. The Dukawa, however, are culturally strangers if not physically so.

It is interesting to combine Tables 1 and 2 with the qualitative stereotypes summarized in Table 17. A ranking of stereotypes would thus emerge:

1. Civilized, fisherfolk-Hausa
2. Cattleherders, warlike-Fulani
3. Farmers, gentle - Kamberi
4. Farmers, helpful - Gungawa
5. Merchants, civilized - Yoruba
6. Farmers, fighters, hunters, craftsmen - Dukawa
7. Fishermen, wrestlers - Shangawa
8. Foreigners, antisocial - Igbo
9. Fishmongers, helpful - Midwesterners

What has emerged most clearly is that a rough "access to power" scale is present in the ranking. "Civilized" to the people of Yauri is always synonymous with "living in towns". The Hausa "fisherfolk" referred to are the Serkawa (Cf. Salamone 1973). The Shangawa fishermen do not fare so well. Attached

to the concept of ruling are a number of other ones. Barkow (1970) has summarized Hausa concepts regarding the ideal man rather well. In brief, he is quiet, gentle, soft-spoken, avoids noisy conflicts, displays great courtesy and so forth. Yauri is a Hausa-ruled area[6] not a Fulani one as most of the emirates have been. Thus the presence of the Fulani ranked in second position may seem to be anamalous. Table 24 does show that there is indeed quite a spread in their ranking within ethnic groups, and three of the twelve Fulani (25%) in the sample did rank Fulani lower than first or second. The high aggregate rating of the Fulani is probably best explained because of their traditional success in resisting outside political pressures. Further, while Yauri is Hausa and not Hausa-Fulani it was politically a dhimi (tributary state) under the suzerainty of Sokoto, a Fulani empire. Today the Cattle Fulani are losing their struggle for relative autonomy and this loss of their rights and duties is confusing to others in Yauri. However, violence in itself is lowly ranked in Yauri and those whose ethos glorifies it may be feared, but they are hated. Furthermore, one would be right in predicting that Fulani have difficulties rather universally in Yauri. Thus, their status boundaries are rather blurred and confusing in the current change situation. Significantly, conflicts have increased as in recent years.

There is also a rather general agreement that certain professions and and qualities should go together in proper fashion. Thus, for non-Hausa farming is better than fishing, and certainly better than hunting, a term associated with the warlike Dukawa whose self-image is that of hunters.

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[6] In fact as Mahdi (1968) and Balogun(1970) have demonstrated the situation is much more complex than I have made it seem. The "Hausa" in Yauri are "really" essentially Gungawa who have changed their ethnic identity over time (Salamone I.P.). Thus, as newly arrived Hausa they are careful to act as proper Hausa at all times, exaggerating their Hausaness to validate their claims to the possession of Hausa identity.

The Kamberi are regarded as the best farmers as well as the gentlest people in Yauri.[7] Thus, although the Hasua have traditionally drawn large numbers of people from the Gungawa (Salamone I.P.) they exhibit a slight preference for the Kamberi (Cf. Tables 21-22). Hausa men will intermarry with both Kamberi and Gungawa (Cf. Table 16). However, it is rare for a Kamberi man to marry a Hausa woman. Although not so frequent, it is not "wrong" for a Gungawa man to marry a Hausa woman. However, many Gungawa with Hausa wives are so "Hausaized" that they appear in samples as Hausa. Fieldwork identifies them rather readily as those who have undergone ethnic identity change.

If the ranking of groups is an aggregate summary of the rights and duties of each ethnic group in Yauri, then one should be able to make some predictions regarding manifest behavior in interethnic situations. Further, one should be able to describe the boundaries of each ethnic group by defining its range and field of rights and duties; i.e., its relative statuses. Conflict areas would be those areas in which self and other perceptions of rights and duties differed. I have given a few examples above. Perhaps, a few more will clarify my position.

The Gungawa are ranked in a "middling" position by most of the other groups in Yauri. They are considered hardworking farmers. Before their forced resettlement, they produced Yauri's major agricultural export, onions, and were also expert fishermen. They are regarded as a practical people who will compromise, if necessary, to achieve their aims. They have a higher

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[7]The Kamberi were not always so gentle. Mahdi (personal communitation) points out that they and the Dukawa were close allies. In fact, the Kamberi were the original rulers of Yauri. They lost large numbers of people in the Civil Wars that devasted Yauri in the 19th century. "Gentleness", or more literally "shyness", is an effective adaptive mechanism. Their retreat from towns to the bush is a similar defensive response. Unfortunately, little has been written on these fascinating people.

opinion of themselves than do other groups[8] and are willing to express it on a questionnaire. However, the gap in their self-other rating is not too great. Thus, the Gungawa are found engaging in a vast number of interactions with other groups. They intermarry with members of almost every group in Yauri. The Dukawa present the only exception and, if Harris (1930) is correct, that was not always true. Thus, they are in a sense an entrepreuneurial group, one with ties to both those above and below. There are strong historical reasons for their position. They are in fact a group created from the merging of a number of other ethnic groups (Harris 1930; Mahdi 1968; Balogun 1970; Salamone 1974 and I.P.) and one that has channeled the movement of personnel into the Hausa category. Thus, predictably the Gungawa are able to intermarry with people from almost every ethnic group in Yauri, for that is part of their rights and duties. Marriage alliance aid their interaction. They also engage in more intimate, day-to-day, interaction with a wider range of groups than any other group in Yauri. One can say that their role ["...all the composite duty-statuses and right-statuses for a given identity in all the identity relationships that are grammatically possible for it" (Goodenough 1969:324)] is more extensive and complex than that of any other ethnic group in Yauri. Therefore, it is not surprising that they are a "helpful" people. Their role requires them to assume such

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[8] All groups in Yauri, in fact, have high self-images. The Kamberi are not really so self-effacing as their self-rankings would make them appear. The questionnaires were filled out in a social situation in which members of other groups were present. Ethnographic data obtained from in-depth interviews strongly suggest that all groups in Yauri consider themselves "number one". They also know the agreed-on ranking of one another, and the rules for interaction that follow from these rankings. The Gungawa in the sample were all Christians (Cf. Table 18). (Muslim Gungawa are almost by definition Hausa and no pagan Gungawa were in the sample). That fact could easily account for their high self-image since these Chirstians lived on the peninsula of Shabanda, were not resettled, and otherwise exhibit "the Protestant Ethic". They are converts to the United Missionary Church of Africa, a fundamentalist organization (cf. Salamone 1973).

a vast number of social identities that they are, in some ways, "all things to all men." In fact, in some ways they are indeed "all men," or at least a microcosm of all Yauri's people. They fish, hunt, farm, trade, have members in the bureaucracy, incorporate members from other ethnic groups and contribute members to the Hausa.

The Kamberi present an interesting contrast with the Gungawa. They are also highly ranked. However, they are categorized as "gentle". They are required to present themselves to members of all other ethnic groups in that social identity. In Yauri, to be "gentle" or "shy" is to be a person who never fights, no matter what the provocation. It is to be a person who runs away from any trouble, who always has "rights" to be trampled upon, because the rights and duties of his social identity do not include "redress of grievance." So entrenched has this view of the Kamberi become that reality is not allowed to intrude on it. Any deviation is not surprisingly deeply resented and viewed as a betrayal by the Kamberi's alter in the interaction.

Most Kamberi do indeed sincerely value gentleness. With good reason most Kamberi are shy of strangers. However, to most people in Yauri "shyness" carried the connotation of cowardice and stupidity. Thus, they say the Kamberi do not wrestle or have any sports. The fact is that the Kamberi, physically the most impressive of all Yauri's people[9], are superb wrestlers and are adept at a large number of gymnastic sports. They run from fights because of their historical experience (cf. note 7). In fact, they and the Dukawa were probably once the best warriors in Yauri. Not only are they not stupid but in 1972 four headmasters in Yauri were Kamberi. I had students wrongly identify them as Hausa (because "they acted like Hausa"). It is not

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[9] The Kamberi men average over six feet in height. Women are not much shorter. Their physiques, male and female, can only be described as awe inspiring. They take excellent care of their health as the records of the former Catholic Mission Hospital attest.

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surprising, then, that a police officer in Agwara, a division in Kwara State across the Niger from Yauri, complained to a Catholic missionary that the "missions were spoiling the Kamberi, for the Catholic Kamberi no longer drops his chicken and runs when we yell, 'Hey Kamberi!'

The Kamberi seems to possess a social identity analagous to that of many oppressed people. A full discussion would take us too far afield from our central point, for it would necessitate a complete analysis of Yauri's interethnic history (for which cf. Salamone 1974:Chapter 2) and a discussion of theories of oppression. What is relevant is that the front stage area of life is indeed truly different from the reality of the Kamberi's backstage area of life. In short, they are "putting on" the other members of their social field. They carefully follow the rules of interaction to preserve their identity. They willingly live up to their reputation as magiro (traditional religion) practitioneers.[10]

However, the closer one gets to Kamberi the more one sees how much of a conscious effort they put into living up to their social identities. In their compounds they are more boisterous and outgoing then they are "supposed" to be. Their wit can be devastating, and their shyness begins to drop. They are most "shy" in answering questions of a religious nature. Otherwise, they are quite open and mock their stereotype freely.

The Kamberi school children display a remarkable ambiguity in their ranking of the Dukawa. Of course, since only five self-identified Kamberi are in the samples, only cautious generalizations can be made. Further, only

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[10] Gentleness in associated with magiro priests. The most famous magiro priest in Yauri, indeed in all of the Northwestern State, is a Gungawa. He is indeed gentle and a bit of a "buffon". Perhaps, all Kamberi male are thought to have magic power because of their gentleness.

one Kamberi has both a Kamberi mother and father. Thus, one might indeed expect ambiguity from such a sample. There are, in fact, more than five children in the sample with at least one Kamberi parent. There are ten. Seven have a Hausa father and a Kamberi mother. One has a Kamberi father and a Hausa mother. One has a Kamberi father and Gungawa mother, and one has a Kamberi mother and father (Cf. Table 16). Further, all Kamberi in the sample were Muslim (Cf. Table 18). Thus, the Kamberi in the sample represent an upwardly mobile segment of the Kamberi universe. They are moving away from the stereotypic Kamberi and have a choice in the way in which they present themselves. The fact that students misidentified Kamberi school masters as Hausa is significant. It is also significant that these school masters very carefully observed proper Islamic behavior but assiduously maintained their ties to their own people. They were consciously using Islam as a means to better their people's lot while fighting to preserve their ethnic identity. They still attended the old festivals but refrained from drinking there.

The relevance of this behavior and its meaning to Kamberi-Dukawa interaction is simple and important. Kamberi who are upwardly mobile must take great care to have their new identity as Muslims accepted by the Hausa, who are models for proper Islamic behavior. The majority of Kamberi Islamic converts have chosen to retain their identity as Kamberi, while deemphasizing elements that conflict with Islam. One of these elements is the drinking of "native beer."[11] The Kamberi and Dukawa have traditionally had a joking relationship, or one of privileged familiarity. Part of that relationship is one of mutual drinking. There are a number of reasons for the

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[11] Muslims in Yauri interpret the Koranic injunction against drinking alcoholic beverages as applicable only to what they call "native wine."

relationship,[12] at this point the important fact is its existence and meaning to people in Yauri. It is, therefore, logical that people changing their self-presentation would attempt to extinguish any behavior whose meaning would conflict with that purpose. Then, too, the Dukawa have stubbornly clung to their fierce image in Yauri while the Kamberi have been careful to cultivate a "kindly", "gentle" one. Conversion to Islam has only sharpened the Kamberi's presentation of a gentle self. Combined in Yauri with the profession of Islam gentleness is truly the mark of the civilized person. The Dukawa, however, are the antithesis of the civilized person in Yauri. Thus, the ambiguous categorization of the Dukawa by Kamberi school children, a categorization that needs explanation because of the joking behavior observable daily in Yauri between Kamberi and Dukawa and the deviation from that behavior that the categorization suggests.[13]

Finally, the mutual rankings and stereotypes show a close connection with the functions that each group performs in Yauri, and the ranking of those functions. In some ways, it is a ranking of occupations and qualities associated with them.[14] Thus, governing is clearly a highly ranked occupation while hunting is not. Trade controlled by outsiders is understandably unpopular since these outsiders are in competition for valuable resources with indigenous ethnic groups. As I suggest above, whenever there is a lack of agreement between "self-ranking" (and therefore the exercise of certain rights and duties,) and "other-ranking" there is an area of

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[12] I am currently preparing an article on the Dukawa-Kamberi relationship. It has been a long and enduring one.

[13] The situation is, perhaps, even more complex, for while Muslim Kamberi are becoming more "gentle", Christian Kamberi are not. Perhaps, a schismo genesis might arise in the future. Furthermore both Dukawa and Kamberi are attracted to Christianity. It will be important to study the meaning of various patterned relationships that develop between various kinds of Dukawa and Kamberi, for example, Christian Kamberi-Traditional Dukawa, Muslim Kamberi-Christian Dukawa, etc. Incidently, Dukawa stereotype Kamberi as gentle and cowardly as much as do members of other ethnic groups. Perhaps there is a trace of bitterness in their categorization since they were once wartime allies and equally fierce.

[14] I (1973) have suggested that ethnic groups should be viewed as examples of the Weberian categories of class, status and party.

potential stress in the system.

Conclusions

Conclusions

This paper combines the theoretical approaches of Goffman, Barth, and Goodenough, approaches that are essentially combatible with one another. Their combination allows one to treat ethnic groups as social persons, composed of a number of social identities with various rights and duties in interactions with other such groups. Such an approach allows one to ask what kind of category ethnic groups are and to begin answering that question within a framework influenced by cognitive anthropology. Thus, members of an ethnic group see themselves as people who have access to a number of culturally-defined social identities, the possession of which entitles them to certain rights and duties in interaction with members of other groups. The boundaries of ethnic groups are co-terminous with the distribution of the rights and duties (statuses) of their members' social identities. In other words, one can empirically map out any ethnic group's boundaries by identifying and mapping out the distribution of its members rights and duties in every possible combination of interethnic interaction. Boundaries are then identifiable as access to rights and duties (statuses) and one can study them behaviorally.

From Goodenough's perspective, then, it is predictable that the same ethnic group may well be differentially ranked by others in the field of social interaction, for each may perceive the same group differentialy. If an ethnic group is a social persona, then it can choose from a number of identities that combination it deems most appropriate to structure its interaction. Some identities, however, must always be included in any presentation to make these syntactically accurate. Thus, the Hausa are always Muslims and civilized, the Dukawa always independent.

These dominant identities tend to serve to facilitate interaction along lines the participants deem appropriate. They are the focus of ethnic stereotyping. The Kamberi example shows how carefully stereotypes may be fostered by a group as an adaptive mechanism and in what ways changes in the stereotypes can be effected. Furthermore, all groups in the social field know the stereotypes, and there is widespread agreement on them.

This paper only begins to apply what I believe can be a powerful combination of theory and methodology. In brief, I propose that further research should elict a whole range of responses regarding rights and duties from sufficient numbers of people. Their responses on self and other stereotypes should be carefully compared. Observations obtained from participant-observation should be used to cross-check questionnaire data. Discrepancies should be noted and carefully explained. In the above study, such discrepancies caused me to investigate problems unnoticed in my field research until then.

Careful use of TAT's can uncover further examples of stereotypes. Thus, in my sample every time a Kamberi was identified that Kamberi was said to be praying or engaged in a kindly activity. TAT's add a cultural situational framework to ethnic stereotypes. They often offer insights into "what the stereotype is for"; i.e., its purpose.

Stereotypes do have a purpose. They aid in the articulation of ethnic interaction. That is another way of saying they aid in the distribution of rights and duties (statuses) available in social interaction. They justify that distribution by attributing certain qualities to self and other. They certainly affect the syntactical construction of the grammar of interaction. Changes in stereotypes, thus, are translations of identities.

Finally, use of Goodenough adds a greater degree of dynamism to the study of ethnic groups. They serve to organize their members for certain kinds of social interaction. Their members have certain predictable identities to choose from in situations of social interaction. However, their ethnic identity is of overriding importance. Stereotypes are usually associated with that dominant identity and its ascribed qualities. ("To be a Dukawa is to be a hunter.") These identities are associated with a range, or distribution, of rights and duties (statuses). That range is the ethnic boundary. Behavior associated with preserving the boundary is best viewed as an ethnic boundary marker. Since the status of an ethnic group member can vary in interaction with a member of each different ethnic group member in a social field, behavior in thise interactions can vary. These behavioral fluctuations are what I mean by situational ethnicity. Being a Dukawa means something different in Dukawa- Kamberi interaction than in Dukawa - Hausa interaction.

Examination of the matrix of status and their perception should lead to greater predictability of various kinds of possible interaction (marriage, hostility, joking relationships, etc.). The probabilities of such interactions could be gauged. More importantly, perhaps, the meaning of and response to certain types of behavior could be predicted. Its grammatical appropriateness could be predicted. Goodenough (1969) has shown the value of this approach within a group. I suggest that it is important to extend its use to the analysis of between-group interactions.

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Table 25

Student's Age and Religion

	10-12	13-14	15-16	17-19	20-23	24-26	27-29	30+
No Answer		1						
Muslim	23	39	21	23	2	2	1	0
Christian	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Traditional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	27	44	21	23	2	2	1	0

Table 26

Student's Ethnic Group and Stereotypes of Midwesterners

	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Fulani	Midwesterners	Total
No response or other	0	20	1	6	0	10	5	42
Farmers	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	5
Traders	2	7	1	1	2	0	1	14
Workers	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Fishermen	3	6	0	2	3	0	1	15
Cattle Herders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dancers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fighters & wrestlers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Craftsmen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wealthy	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Uncivilized	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Kind people	0	16	0	1	1	0	2	20
Important	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civilized	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dirty or Carless	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Educated	0	6	0	0	1	1	2	10
Unkind or Fighting	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	12
	5	73	1	12	7	12	11	121

Table 27

Student's Ethnic Group and Stereotypes of Hausa

	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Fulani	Midwesterners	Total
No response or other	2	15	0	2	0	11	3	33
Farmers	1	11	0	3	0	1	0	11
Traders	0	3	1	5	5	0	2	16
Workers	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Fishermen	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Cattle Herders	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Dancers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Fighters or Wrestlers	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Craftsmen	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Wealthy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uncivilized	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kind People	1	28	0	1	1	0	4	35
Important	0	9	0	0	1	0	0	10
Clean or Civilized	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Dirty or Careless	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Educated	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Unkind or Fighting	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	5	73	1	12	7	12	11	121

Table 28

Student's Ethnic Group and Stereotypes of Gungawa

	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Fulani	Midwesterners	Total
No response or other	1	15	0	1	0	6	3	26
Farmers	1	10	1	5	2	1	1	21
Traders	0	2	0	2	3	3	2	12
Workers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fishermen	2	6	0	1	0	0	1	10
Cattler Herders	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Dancers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Fighters or Wrestlers	0	7	0	1	0	0	0	8
Craftsmen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Wealthy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Uncivilized	-	4	-	1	-	-	3	8
Kind people	-	18	0	1	2	1	1	23
Important	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Clean or Civilized	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Dirty or Careless	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Educated	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Unkind or Fighting	1	9	-	-	-	-	-	10
TOTAL	5	73	1	12	7	12	11	121

Table 29

Student's Ethnic Group and Stereotype of Kamberi

	Kamberi	Hausa	Dukawa	Gungawa	Yoruba	Fulani	Midwesterners	Total
No response or other	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Farmers	4	18	0	7	5	1	2	27
Traders	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	6
Workers	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	3
Fishermen	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cattle Herders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dancers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Fighters or Wrestlers	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Craftsmen	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Wealthy	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Uncivilized	0	6	0	1	1	3	1	12
Kind People	0	23	0	2	1	0	4	30
Important	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10
Clean or Civilized	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dirty or Careless	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	5
Educated	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unkind or Fighting	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	7
TOTAL	5	73	1	12	7	12	12	121

Name
Age
Place of Birth
State-
Division-
District-
Tribe-
Father's Tribe-
Mother's Tribe-
Number of Children in Family-
Religion

There are a number of different tribes residing in Yauri Division. Some of these are: Kamberi, Hausa, Dukawa, Gungawa, Igbo, Lopawa, Shangawa, Yoruba, Midwesterners, Fulani. If 1 is the tribe you like best and 10 the tribe you like least, write the name of each tribe you like least, write the name of each tribe next to the proper number.

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____
6._____
7._____
8._____
9._____
10._____

Describe each of the following tribes in a few words

Kamberi

Lopawa

Fulani

Gungawa

Hausa

Dukawa

Yoruba

Igbo

Shangawa

Midwesterners

Europeans

My favorite subject in school is_____.
My favorite game is_____.
My least favorite subject is_____.
My least favorite game is_____.
When I grow up I want to be_____.
Most of my friends are_____.
How many children do you want ot have when you get married?_____.

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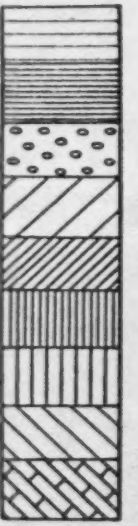
BOUNDARIES

- International
- Regional
- Provincial
- Divisional
- Independent District and Emirate
- Subordinate District
- Conjectured limits of old kingdom of Kuta

TOWNS

- Regional H.Q.
- Provincial H.Q.
- Divisional H.Q.
- Other towns
- Abandoned site (Historical) +
- Railways
- All-season roads

TRIBES



- KAMBARI
- GUNGAWA, YAURAWA, LOPAWA, LARAWA, & BAKARAWA
- ACHIPAWA
- KAMUKU, BAUSHI, PONGU, URA
- BASA
- DUKAWA
- DAKAKARI &c.
- GBARI
- KORO, LUNGU
- OTHER (NEIGHBOURING TRIBES)

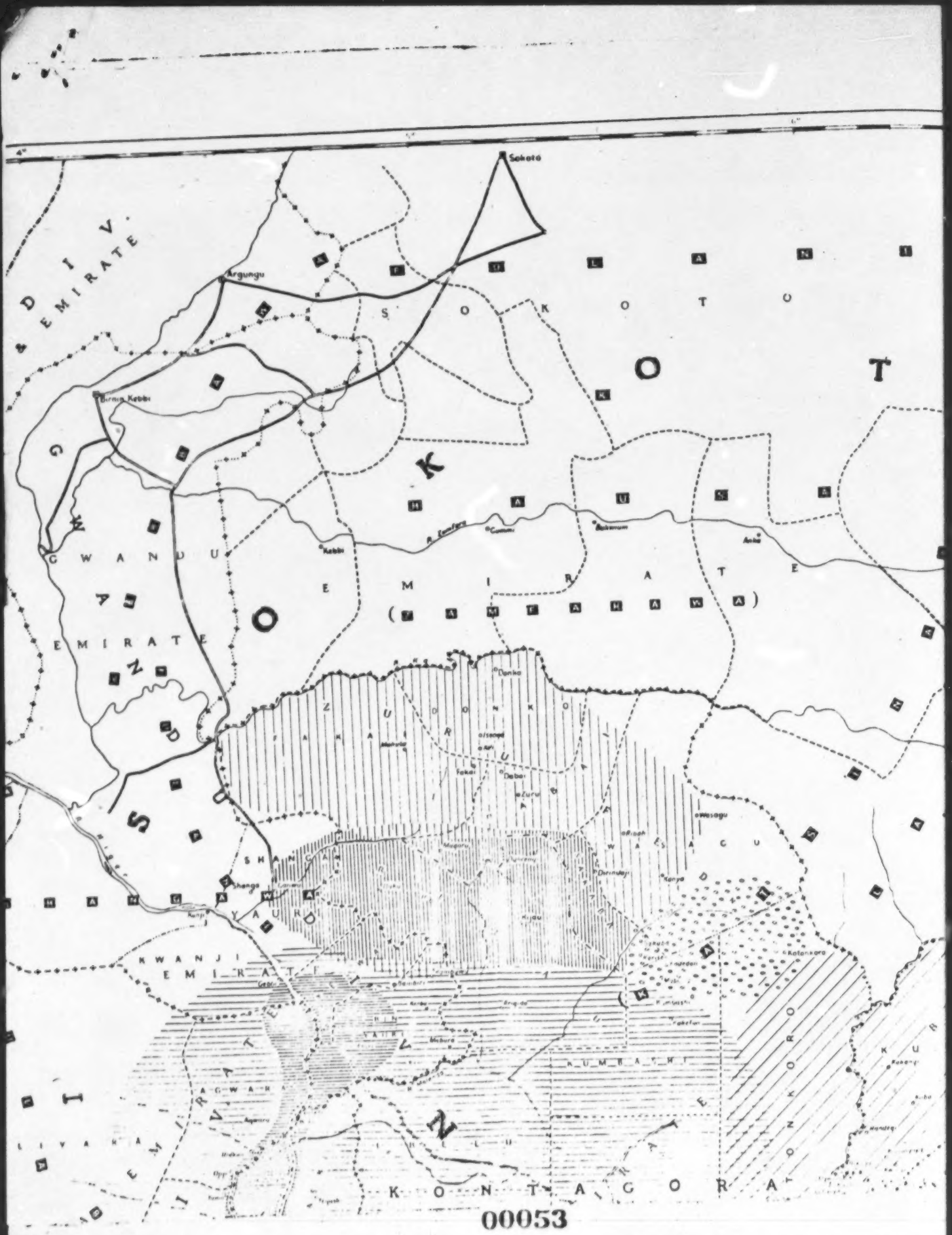
MILES 0 10 20 30 40 50

KILOMETRES 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

8°

3°

4°


Sokoto
Argungu
Birnin Kebbi
Kebbi
Gwandu
Emirate
Sokoto
Emirate
(Fahawa)
Zuru
Danko
Dabai
Shanga
Yauri
Kwanji
Emirate
Kontagora
Emirate
Kontagora
Katcha
Owasagu
Kanya
Darimagi
Mokwa
Kaduna

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